CITY BANKS CAUSE RIOTS IN BRAZIL

While Barclays has become the bank most notorious for left protest, other major banks get off lightly. Yet all the major Western banks are the cause of mass poverty and repression in all parts of the globe. Financial transactions in London or in Wall Street can have repercussions thousands of miles away, resulting in massive drops in living standards and even rioting.

Two weeks ago there was a case in point. In Wall Street and in the City of London several leading banks quietly announced an increase in their world debt provision. At the other end of the world a country experienced the 'biggest reduction in real wages in its history'. The two events were directly connected.

Within hours of the Brazilian government announcing a return to standard monetary practices the world's big banks made an announcement that they would increase their loan facilities to developing countries. On the surface it seemed good news, but in reality a deal had been struck with the Brazilian government, the biggest of the sovereign bad debtors.

The behind-the-scenes deal was that Brazil and other bad debt countries would be able to borrow more providing they didn't renege (which they were threatening to do) and providing the international investors were allowed to exploit the economic situation in Brazil and similar countries further.

Far from being an act of benevolence the announcement from the banks was in reality a declaration that Brazil would be allowed to get into further bad debt and sign over even more of the country's wealth over to the world's banks. The other consequence would be on the Brazilian economy, which would have to be radically restructured.

Citicorp was the first bank to announce the deal. National Westminster soon followed suit. On the stock market shares for both these banks immediately rose (because there was increased confidence in the potential that the increase in debt provision would create). Overnight both banks made huge profits, in the regions of several hundred million pounds. A debt crisis had been averted and both banks increased their solvency.

National Westminster's international banking manager later stated that the deal had been made to avoid defaulting. He specifically cited Brazil. In fact if all the sovereign bad debtors defaulted then the immediate result would be the collapse of several leading banks, notably Citicorp in the USA and National Westminster in the UK. The repercussions of either of these banks collapsing would be without precedent. There would be a major world crisis for capitalism. Within days other banks would fall, as well as investment companies and many leading financial institutions.

But in Brazil, there was a crisis of equal dimensions happening. To save the West's banks from financial collapse the Brazilian government agreed to an overnight wage freeze, a devaluation of the currency and a cut-back on all major state projects. Trade unionists immediately predicted that as a result the minimum wage would be brought down to its lowest level since 1947. Their prediction came true: wages fell by a massive 30%, while within a matter of hours prices for telephone charges, electricity, petrol, bread and milk all rose by a further 30% by companies forewarned of the freeze. In other words the cost of living rose by around 60%.

A week later there were riots in Rio de Janeiro. The immediate cause was the doubling of bus fares. Several buses were set alight and banks and offices in the financial centres were attacked. Wages have now settled down to a monthly minimum of $28 - one of the world's lowest.

The unions in Brazil have called for a general strike. But the banks want more profit. And the fat cats in the City of London and in Wall Street want another porsche.

Anarchist Organisation : Past Present & Future

continued from page 4

of collectivisation. In Barcelona Durruti told Companys, the head of the Catalan government, that *'the CNT and the FAI will assume the direction of the struggle from now on'.* Similar events happened elsewhere. The war had begun.

The rest is history and Casas' account takes the reader right up to the end of the war.

He does not ignore the collaboration, but rather provides, perhaps, the clearest description of the events that happened and the circumstances that led to many prominent CNT and FAI members joining in the government. It did not happen overnight, nor as part of a deliberate policy. It happened after much argument, almost by accident. What began as an attempt to unite with other forces in order to smash the coup, led to a situation no one in the CNT or FAI could predict. Nor did they foresee the treachery of the Stalinists. They believed, too, that if they turned down the invitation to participate in the control of the war effort then they would not get arms, and the Bolsheviks would seize control - as they did in the Russian Revolution - using the anarchists as cannon fodder. They were right, but the Bolsheviks outmanouvred them anyway and in the process sabotaged the revolution and instigated the counter-revolution.

Some argued that all the efforts of the FAI and the CNT should have been devoted entirely to the cause of defeating Fascism, but that would have meant ignoring the Stalinists and the other counter-revolutionaries. Others argued that the Social Revolution was the main priority, but again that would have left the anarchists defenceless. The truth was that the anarchists were under attack from all fronts.

Casas shows how many of those who ended up collaborating in government eventually retracted and opposed collaboration when they saw what was happening. In other words they never gave up their anarchism, but were persuaded, temporarily, to compromise their principles in an effort to gain unity. In this they failed because others wanted them to fail.

The FAI's official policy was against collaboration, although some of its most prominent members, who were working with the CNT, opted to collaborate and later regretted it. But as the picture became clearer as to what was happening, in particular the role of the Stalinists, the FAI became once more, together with the CNT, the main force for revolutionary struggle. In the last few months of the war, although victory was clearly a lost hope, the FAI organised a new offensive that involved sabotage behind the enemy lines and the re-grouping of the militias outside the direct control of the counter-revolutionaries.

But it was all too late. With the fall of Catalonia the last anti-fascist military division in the east, the Durruti Column, crossed the border into France to fight the resistance in exile. Within a week the CNT, the FAI and the FIJL had set up a council in exile in Paris.

The Fascists had won, the repression was to begin, and the resistance was to continue.

The FAI, officially, was no more. It, like the CNT, became criminalised. Its members, together with members of the FIJL and the CNT, went underground. Some fought from within Spain. Others fought from outside. It took the FAI another forty years to re-organise.

THE SITUATION TODAY

Today the FAI is a much smaller organisation, but is re-consolidating. After Franco it tried to organise openly, but this proved fruitless, and it returned to clandestinity where it remains today.

With the rise again of the CNT the FAI has returned once more to its traditional role. Since the death of Franco the Spanish state has made several attempts to smash the CNT - through the Scala affair, through continued imprisonment of its militants, through the retention of its assets, and not least through the setting up of a bogus 'CNT' in an attempt to create a split.

Both the CNT and the FAI have shared the same problem with adjusting to the modern day political climate. Years of apathy by the CNT in exile created a situation whereby many of the young were out of touch with what had happened. And in many respects the CNT had to begin all over again. The FAI found, too, that many of the people calling themselves 'anarchist' were nothing more than liberals or hippies, doing their 'counter-culture' thing. The Anglo-Saxon disease had spread to Spain.

The 'Renovados' have taken up where Pestana's Syndicalist Party has left off. Their slogans are of the package-deal left variety: anti-imperialism, supporting single issue campaigns, and collaboration with the Bolsheviks. These people have had their day.

The CNT now has the task of re-creating a revolutionary movement in Spain. In the last few months



we have seen once more wave after wave of strikes and mass demonstrations. The reformist political parties and unions have tried to take control of the strikes but have failed. The people want something more.

The latest position on the FAI is that they are beginning to bring together many of the anarchist groups, but, as an organisation, remain underground. Inevitably they are committed to the CNT and in defense of the confederal labour organisation. Recently the FAI has helped to defend the CNT who have been forced to fight a lone battle against political syndicalism and the infiltrators. There has been little understanding of the Spanish situation by anarchist organisations outside of Spain and some anti-anarchists have attempted to exploit the situation further.

'Anarchist Organisation - the history of the FAI', by Juan Gomez Casas, translated by Abe Blustein, published by Black Rose.

McCarthyites In Contra Funding

Carl 'Spitz' Channel, who recently testified in the Irangate hearings, has been revealed as the president of the Western Goals Foundation, a Western Goals trust fund. Western Goals is the propaganda/dirty tricks wing of the World Anti-Communist League with backing from the Unification Church.

Western Goals was originally set up in 1979 by Congressman Larry McDonald, the head of the ultra-right wing John Birch Society, who was later killed when the Soviets shot down KAL 007 in 1983. Initially Western Goals was meant to be an intelligence-gathering agency, but in time it broadened its activities to include propaganda, the funding of think-tanks and fronts, and dirty tricks.

Western Goals has sections in many countries and is an integral part of the WACL establishment. Indeed General (retired) John K Singlaub, a former chairman of WACL (and now head of its US section), is a long-time member of the Western Goals' advisory board.

The McCarthyite allegation against Western Goals is substantiated when it was shown in 1983 that Western Goals had been feeding US police records on Communists and subversives into their central data bank and that it also had in its possession the original files held by McDonald, who was also the former head of the old House of Un–American Activities. These former McCarthyite files are now lodged with Western Goals.

Western Goals, through its various international sections, is building up similar data bases on opponents. Unlike the industrial monitoring groups, such as the British-based Economic League, Western Goals intends to put their files to wider use (eg, proactive targetting, smear campaigns, etc).

The Western Goals link to the Contra funding and to Carl Channel doesn't end with the Western Goals Foundation. Channel is also the head of the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty, which was the main conduit for privately raised funds for the Contras. Money raised through National Endowment ended up with Lake Resources, the holding company with an account in Switzerland that was set up by General (retired) Richard Secord.

Two of National Endowments biggest single donators to the Contra fund were a couple of elderly ladies, Barbara Newington and Ellen Garwood. Newington has previously made extensive contributions to the coffers of the John Birch Society and to Lyndon La Rouche. She is also listed as a founder member of Western Goals, which McDonald, in fact, headed prior to his death. As for Garwood, she made her contribution to National Endowment after being approached personally by Singlaub.

N.B. Stanford Resources, the front company for Lake Resources, has been going for some years and is tied up with other arms smuggling scandals.

This information has come from the jailed former CIA agent Ed Wilson. According to Wilson during the Carter years he, Secord, Theordore Shackley, Thomas Clines and Erich von Marbod formed an arms trading company called EATSCO to do behind the scenes trading with the Egyptian government, to accumulate rake-offs, and to help the US Government do deals with countries where there was an embargo.

Wilson worked to Clines in the CIA,



Major-General (retired) Richard Secord

while Clines boss was Shackley. When the scandal finally broke, Secord was temporarily suspended from the Pentagon and went on to work for Albert Hakim using the finances and expertise of EATSCO to set up Stanford Industries. Von Marbod was also forced to resign and he went on to work for Frank Carlucci (now the head of the National Security Council). Shackley moved directly to the payroll of Stanford Industries as a consultant.

The EATSCO files were 'lost', and no one was prosecuted even though there was plentiful evidence that the team, which included Wilson, were creaming off vast profits for personal gain. They were allowed to get off because they were all CIA and their work was for the CIA. Some of those involved were to later transfer their operations to Iran.

15281
BF
CCC

No. 173

BLACK FLAG

30p

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

13-7-87

POLL TAX LINKED TO I.D. CARD

WILL VOTING BE PRIVATISED?

INSIDE

Anarchist Organisation



see pages 4 & 5

Direct Action In Denmark



see page 3

Build Your Own Prison!



see page 6

The new Poll Tax that is to replace local Rates will become the sole identifier for eligibility to use local services. In effect it will function as a kind of i.d. or pass, while those who dodge payment will be excluded from using resources that previously were looked upon as a right.

The government argues that as the Poll Tax will be compulsory no one will be excluded from making use of local services. But this claim is ingenuous.

The Poll Tax will be a tax on the poor. It has been shown that the people who will be the worst off are those in run-down areas, the elderly, the young, the unemployed and all those who do not own property. The better off will be the wealthy, the property owners and those who live in the Tory heartlands.

The revenue will go not to the local boroughs but to Whitehall, to central government, which will then re-distribute the revenue to the boroughs, not according to need. The effect will be that poorer boroughs will become poorer with less money at their disposal for local spending. There will also be a sort of direct rule from Westminster. And the tyranny of the local mandarins will be replaced by the tyranny of the Whitehall ones.

Some people will be able to avoid payment, but without proof of payment will be automatically excluded from sharing in the local resources. A simple receipt system will prove unworkable, so we suspect that the government will decide to issue a card, possibly a plastic card with i.d. on it, to all who pay the tax. Holders of the Poll Tax card, or the Community Tax card (as the government prefers to call it), will then be able to use local libraries, local leisure centres and other municipal resources.

Those who don't possess the card will not be able to use the local library, leisure centre, etc. They will become second class citizens.

Nor will it necessarily stop there. To aquire any rights to local housing or local health services, or indeed anything that comes under local authority control, one will have to prove that a financial contribution has been made.

Compared to the old rating system these local services will be for some people half the price and less. For others local services will cost twice as much, while some will end up being forced to contribute beyond their means, but in return receive services that have been drastically cut because of the direct intervention from central government.

The irony is that this 'pay for what you get' philosophy will be applied to voting itself, and so for some will be a form of disenfranchisement. All those on the Electoral Register will automatically be entered on the Community Register. And so to avoid payment of the Poll Tax some people will try and get off the Electoral Roll, and they will not be able to vote.

Of course everyone is supposed to have their name on the Electoral Register by law - and everyone will be required to have their name on the Community Register as well - but people have been willing to forego their vote, either because they don't support any of the political parties or because they have not wished their names to be included on the Electoral Register. Now there will be a double incentive - to avoid payment of the Community Tax as well.

In this sense, the Community Tax doubles as a payment for voting.

Voting, therefore, has been privatised.

Looked at in this way the Poll Tax is a virtual incitement not to vote. Many people will opt out of voting because they won't be able to afford it. For the disenfranchised - and for those of us who choose not to vote for government out of conviction - the way out of this mess would be to create free municipalities, run by the people for the people.

Awaiting Death In Japan

Toshiaki Masunaya and Masashi Daidaji (both 38 years old) are awaiting execution following the failure of their third and final appeal against the death sentence on March 24 (*Black Flag* 170). Both were arrested in 1975, along with seven others, and were later convicted for their alleged part in a four year bombing campaign against Japanese and multi-national institutions. subsequently claimed by the 'East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Forces', (an underground organisation consisting of both anarchists and Marxists).

Of the seven others arrested, two - Yosimasa Kurakawa and Mariko Arai - received a life sentence and eight year sentence respectively for their involvement in the campaign. Following their arrest a bomb exploded inside government offices on the Japanese island of Hokkaido,after which police arrested Katsuhisa Omori, also awaiting execution in Sapporo detention centre.

Protests should be directed to the nearest Japanese Embassy.

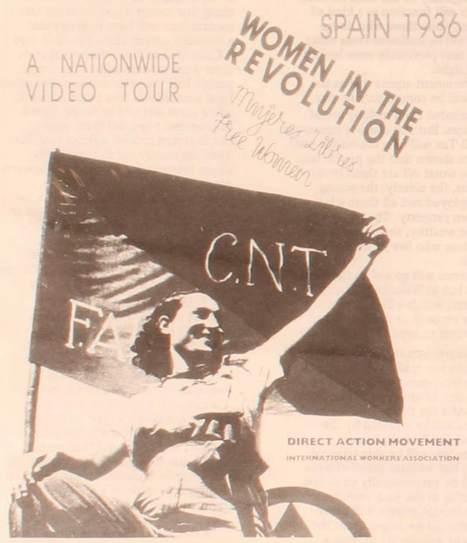


TOP ROW: Toshiaki Masunaya and Masashi Daidaji. BOTTOM ROW: Mariko Arai and Yosimasa Kurakawa.

BLACK FLAG—BLACK CROSS
BM HURRICANE, LONDON WC1N 3XX
Published, typeset and layout by
BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE
Printed by Aldgate Press E1
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
12 months: £12 inland, £15 surface & £19 air.
Prisoners free on request.
Unemployed/unwaged/low income for postage:
13p inland, 25p surface & 56p air.
Giro Account No. Black Flag
58 552 4009

For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation—against State control and all forms of government and economic oppression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all—the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers—and to fight for the life of one world.

Mujeres Libres Tour



LONDON

EAST LONDON DAM Wed. 15th July, 7.30 p.m. at Four Corners Club, Roman Rd, Bethnal Green.

BRIXTON AND S W LONDON DAM Thurs 16th July, 7.30 p.m. St Matthews Meeting Place (Basement) opp. Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill. Refreshments.

TOWER HAMLETS DAM Wed. 29th July 8.30 p.m. The Centre, 20 Northwold Rd, N16 Finsbury Pk Tube, then 106 Bus.

CENTRAL LONDON DAM Red Rose Club, Finsbury Park, on Seven Sisters Rd.Thursday 30th July, at 7.30 p.m.

NORTH EAST

BRADFORD DAM Sun. 19th July, Metro pole Pub,Town Centre, Bradford.

HUDDERSFIELD DAM Mon. 20th July, Hudawi Centre, Huddersfield. 8 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM DAM Wed. 22nd July, International Community Centre, Mansfield Rd., Nottingham.

LEEDS DAM Thurs. 23rd July 8 p.m. at Leeds Trades Club.

NORTH WEST

LIVERPOOL DAM Tues. 21st July; for venue contact Box DAM, 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool.

MANCHESTER DAM Wed. 22nd July, Manchester Town Hall, Lloyd St entrance, 7.30 pm

BOLTON DAM Thurs. 23rd July, Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood St, Bolton, 7.30 pm

BURNLEY DAM Fri. 24th July; contact Burnley DAM, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, for venue.

SOUTH WEST

BRISTOL DAM Thurs. 30th July, 7pm, Shepherds Hall, Old Market, Bristol.

NORTH

NEWCASTLE DAM Sat. August 1st; for venue contact c/- Tyneside Free Press, 5 Charlotte Square, Newcastle NE1 4 XF.

CHILDCARE IS PROVIDED AT ALL MEETINGS

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Where did the caricature cloak-and-dagger Anarchist originate?

2. Why did the Nazis divert 187,000 men and 6,000 horses from the front in the desperate days of 1944 to take part in a battle for the Allies?

3. Did the British ever offer, at reasonable terms, to let Spain have Gibraltar back?

4. What political assassination is commemorated in the City arms?

5. Which leading member of the Russian aristocracy came to the conclusion, after the fall of Tsarism and disgusted with the exiles, that Peter Kropotkin was right after all, and claimed to be an Anarchist—despite some obvious incongruities?

(answers on page 7)

HOME NEWS

EURO - COMMUNISTS BACK SCABS

The Euro-Communist leader of the South Wales branch of the National Union of Mineworkers, Terry Thomas, has publicly admitted that he backs fully management proposals for extending the working week, not only at the controversial Margam pit, but throughout the coal industry.

Thomas has stated that the industry had to change and 'become more realistic'. He went on to say that people like Scargill were living in the past and were using the language more in common with the turn of the century. He said that he believed the industry had to change, to become more flexible. What he was saying was no different from what the UDM had been saying.

The scab miners union, the UDM, is the darling of the management and represent the new realism that is being pushed by the right-wing Euro-communists and the Labour Party. It is the NUM that is out of step with the Labour Party and the Euro-communists. The NUM still believe in traditional values of solidarity and winning better working conditions. The Labour Party and the Euro-communists have been won over by Thatcherism.

Thomas more or less said so himself: he emphasised that you can't win under Thatcherism, instead you have to change with the times.

This is defeatist talk. Thomas is nothing less than a bosses' man. He is using the Margam situation to launch the NUM nearer into the same camp as the UDM.

British Coal has handled the situation very effectively. Their new head, Sir Robert Haslam, has done what the former head, McGregor, could never have done. He has got an important branch of the NUM eating out of his hand. He has done this through blackmail. The terms: accept an extension of the working week or lose 1300 jobs.

What is more British Coal have now got other unions fighting to grab Margam should the NUM turn it down. The UDM are first in line; but more realistically the South Wales branch of the TGWU have staked their claim too. British Coal has said that they are willing to deal with anyone.

The TGWU leader in South Wales stated that they would get Margam, but come to a deal with the South Wales branch of the NUM at a point in time when the NUM are ready to accept 'flexible conditions' and the new realism.

In other words the TGWU are willing to split the NUM in the hope that the right-wing (ie Euro-communists) will prevail. In this sense, too, the Euro-communists, the Labour Party, the TGWU and the UDM are all working along the same strategy pushed by British Coal.

The NUM is therefore under attack from all sides. Thomas, it should be remembered, is also the chairperson of the South Wales branch of the Labour Party. He is a Kinnock stooge: Thomas would make no move without Kinnock's approval.

On the other hand Scargill embarrassed Kinnock when at a Miners Gala after the general election, Scargill called for the left to wage a campaign of direct action against Thatcher and declared parliamentary action redundant. Scargill is now hoping to retain the support of the South Wales branch, but the hidden forces are not in his favour. In the end, though, he can count on the majority of the membership to reject an extension of the working week and the new realism.

The real problem is that British Coal has sensed blood. They are now demanding that the 'Margam factor' be applied to other pits in other areas. They are insisting that no new developments will begin unless a deal over flexible conditions is signed. Haslam is going in for the kill. He has threatened a further 40,000 jobs whatever happens, and even more will be axed if he doesn't get his way. This is the biggest threat the Miners have faced since the McGregor cut-backs.

While the UDM prevail then any future strike will face the same problems as before. The scabs will conspire to destroy the strike. The government, too, has transformed the power industry bit by bit to make it marginally less dependant on the coal industry.

Even an all-out (bar the UDM) strike begun at the right point in the year (the autumn) would face even more problems than last time. With the national strategy now to use coal from different sources and from different parts of the world, even so-called guerrilla style industrial action would not pose any major threat to BC.

In the long-term, therefore, the only real solution is for the miners to take over the industry and run it themselves. 75% of the industry is still run by the NUM and therefore any collectivisation would act in the NUM's favour.

If they chose that route they would have strong backing from within the mining communities and from outside support groups. The union would be transformed overnight from a militant trade union into a revolutionary industrial/community union. It would be a leap into the unknown. But to gain all, the risks are always enormous.

Leave it to the Euro-communists instead and you can forget mutual aid or traditional solidarity. As in Spain under Franco the Communists were the first to agree to work under his system of company unions. Here, a bit slow off the mark, they are following in the footsteps of the 'libertarian right'. For 'new realism' read 'popular capitalism'. For Euro-communists read scabs.

Collectivisation is the only alternative.

LATEST NEWS: Euro-communist NUM leaders Mick McGahey (Scotland) and Des Dutfield (Wales) have both come out in favour of UDM policy; South Wales are hinting at a rebellion and the electricians' union, EETPU, have entered the Margam stakes.

BLACK FLAG—Financial position from December 1986 to June 1987

	£
Printing	1816.00
Postage	517.00
Stationery	220.40
Subtotal	2553.40
Donations*	1822.50
Sales and subs	630.76
Subtotal	2463.26
deficit on this period	100.14
Amount owing:	4906.63
Usual amount for fees, salaries & expenses—	nil.

* Donations: GL (Bangor) 15, TI (Mids) 250, JW (London) 180. SB (Cosham) 20. MH 150, EM (Cardiff) 25, (London) P 5, JT (London) 10, & P (London) 300, CL (Swansea)3.50. ex Bkshp 10, AM London) 450, V 20, PW 10, C 150, Collection 150, RA 20, (USA) JS 17, (Norway) B 7, (Finland) H 30 —£1822.50

NOTE: A spurt of big donations—mostly because of the getting out of the *Art of Anarchy* and the supplement—meant this six months was practically level pegging moneywise though still a big backlog of debts. Thanks to all concerned. It may be thought that there is always a discrepancy in the amount we spend on postage considering we spend about 200 an issue, but this is due to volunteers who help to fold and despatch paying for stamps they stick, so what can you do when it comes to accounts?

Anarchist Black Cross —state of play

In the period we have received £176.76—but we hope with future sales of *Art of Anarchy* to make this much more and to be able to fund a really worthwhile effort. Thanks too to the many who responded to our special list of Spanish veterans and sent direct.

Received: MB (Manchester) 4, W (Bristol) 15, RL (Bangor) 4, SS (Guam) 33.76, Front 10, L 5, RC 15, Bolton ASs 80, A (Aberdeen) 1, Collection 9.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Busy Times In Denmark

The last 6 months has seen an encouraging increase in direct action here in Denmark, most of it directed against Shell to force them to pull out of South Africa (and preferably the rest of the world as well) by hitting them here in their economic backyards.

Since the first night of coordinated attacks (see *Black Flag* no. 168) when 28 petrol stations were sabotaged, there have been continuous attacks on Shell filling stations, offices and company headquarters, as well as actions against newspapers and buses that carry Shell advertisements.

Several filling stations were sabotaged by smashing the pumps, pouring sugar or paint into the underground tanks (the latter being particularly effective because it necessitates the digging up and replacing of tanks), smashing windows and throwing Batyric (?) acid and stink bombs into the offices. One station at Naerum was burnt down.

A Shell personnel training centre and the offices of a Shell owned road materials company have also been attacked as well as other firms with South African interests.

Most notable in all of this has been the reaction of the left-wing parties and the anti-apartheid organisation; The South Africa Committee, who have tried to outdo each other in their condemnations of these attacks. The South Africa Committee, who are running a boycott Shell campaign, have been particularly virulent. At a demonstration to commemorate the Sharpville massacre the Committee and the ANC representative used most of their speeches to condemn the militant activists, who in fact made up over a third of the audience (this says a lot about the Danish left-wing who constantly preach the need to keep to legal methods of protest, yet don't even turn up to their own demonstrations!!). Fortunately there have been no arrests (note: whilst writing this, it has just been announced that 4 people have been charged for vandalising a Shell station in North Jutland), apart from the 5 on the first nights' activities in November, but *BT*, Denmark's slimiest newspaper has offered a reward, in true West German style, to anyone giving the names of the person(s) who burnt down the garage in Naerum.

March 10th was quite a busy night for activists in Copenhagen with at least 8 groups carrying out various attacks. Diplomatic cars had their tyres slashed, 87 buses with Shell adverts were 'repainted', furshops attacked, 100 banks had their locks glued, the IBMoffices were attacked with butyric acid, DAC (a company involved in building the US radar base in Greenland) had their offices lit up, and Sperry, who made components for Cruise missiles, also had their offices 'visited'.

Actions carried out on other nights have included attacks on the offices of a firm building a motorway through a nature reserve, and a mid-morning attack on two EEC offices with paint bombs and butyric acid.

In March a racist group held a secret meeting to found a new party. The secret got leaked though and a demonstration was quickly organised. During the demonstration militants tried to physically blockade the doors but were dispersed by police and the demonstrations' organisers!

A little later more militants arrived, windows were smashed and the fascists forced to evacuate the hall after smoke bombs were thrown in. A minor street fight with the police ensued, with no arrests.

In the beginning of April, after the last night party of Saltlagoet (a popular centre for alternative music/theatre/arts which the Social Democrat mayor closed so they could build a planetarium) a street fight broke out between police and a crowd of about 100, during which Hotel Sheraton's windows vanished and a police car burnt out. Three arrests were made. The next night 50 people squatted the building, but the police broke in two hours later and forced everyone to jump out from a first floor window whilst they sprayed them with water and arrested them when they landed or fell.

The attack on the anarchist and squatters May Day demonstration by the pigs was reported in *Black Flag* no. 171. On the same day, during the main demonstration, four Kurdish immigrants were attacked and beaten up by a group of 'green jackets' (Danish equivalent of skinheads) whilst 60,000 socialists showed their internationalist solidarity by looking the other way. Green jackets have also been in the papers recently after having turned a housing estate into what they proudly call 'White city - 1' by terrorising all the immigrants and refugees into moving away.

Since the Ryesgack conflict (when the squatters barricaded a whole quarter for 9 days) the pigs have crushed any attempts to start new squats - crushed being the operative word. Two houses were squatted in the autumn and evicted within hours by riot police. A house in the posh suburb of Hellerup was squatted twice, the police both times filling the house with tear gas - enough to fill an outdoor area. The following day the pigs were treated to a similar experience when a cop shop was sprayed with tear gas and batyric acid and stink bombs; the latter meant that it was five weeks before it was re-opened.

On June 3, whilst everyone was sitting at home watching the Danish football team on telly, a house was squatted in Veslerbro; the riot police had got warning and arrived immediately. There followed a violent street fight between squatters and the police, with tear gas, catapults, molotovs and bricks being thrown back and forth. The house was evicted (everyone being arrested) and both sides suffered casualties.

Meanwhile in Arhus squatters have taken over a disused factory and are still there a month later. They want to use it for accommodation and a 'youth house' for music, theatre, etc.

Otherwise things are pretty quiet



A Summary Of Events In Denmark

December 25. *A group attempts to topple a military radio mast near Roskilde by cutting the steel wires; the mast - part of NATO's communication network - unfortunately remained standing.*

January 17. *Shell filling station set alight. The fire went out but the smoke caused a lot of damage. Walls painted with BURN SHELL TO HELL and SHELL OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA.*

January 22. *Eight activists from the South Africa Committee are fined for squatting the South African consulate twice.*

January 30. *House in Hellerup squatted. Police clear house with tear gas, arrest all and later raid their addresses.*

February 15. *Same house squatted again. Again cleared by tear gas.*

February 16. *Tear gas returned to the pigs. A local cop shop is attacked in the mid-morning with tear gas and stink bombs. Shut for five weeks because of the smell.*

March 5. *Protest outside the Courts against the criminalisation of anti-apartheid activists. The occasion was the Court case against one of the five arrested during the attack on Shell last autumn.*

March 10 - 11. *During the night at least eight groups attack various targets in Copenhagen. Subjects for attack include diplomats cars, fur shops, banks, IBM, Sperry and DAC, whose administrative office was burnt down.*

March 13. *A group of Kurds smash a Turkish airline office in Copenhagen in retaliation for the bombing of Kurdish villages in Iraq by Turkey. Another group of Kurds go on hunger strike for 13 days against the bombing and demand that Denmark recognise the Kurds as a distinct nationality.*

March 14 - 15. *Shell personnel training centre in Brondby is attacked. Office equipment and computers destroyed; butyric acid and stink bombs released.*

March 18. *During a demo militant anti-fascists smash windows and throw smoke bombs into a hall where right-wing racists attempt to start a new party.*

March 20. *A Shell filling station is turned into a rubbish tip as about 50 squatters carry building waste and other rubbish on carts from a nearby squat and dump it on the forecourt of the garage; windows and pumps were smashed whilst police were held at bay with catapults and other missiles. No arrests.*

March 21. *The South Africa Committee hold a demonstration on Sharpeville Day outside Shell House and the South African consulate. The SA Committee use the demo to condemn militant activists. On the way back from the demo militant activists smash bank windows and a porno shop.*

Later that evening, during a 'mini street fight', a pig transit has a head-on collision with a car outside the 'Black Horse' squat.

March 23. *Police chief calls for the criminalisation of the wearing of masks during demo's.*

April 5. *Street fight outside Saltlageret closing party. Hotel Sheraton trashed; police car burnt out. 3 arrests. 50 people squat Saltlageret, are evicted 2 hours later; all arrested. At the same time Norrebrogade (1 mile away) is blocked by burning rubbish skips.*

April 9. *25 from 'Young Against Apartheid' peacefully blockade Shell House; all arrested and charged with breach of the peace. Town council meeting about the squats is interrupted by doughnuts and bangers being thrown from the gallery. Riot police arrive immediately. 25 arrests.*

April 10. *20 from 'Young Against Apartheid' occupy 'Extra Bladet' (gutter press) to try and get them to stop advertising Shell; they refuse.*

April 23. *In solidarity with Hafenstrasse in Hamburg two EEC offices in Copenhagen are attacked during office hours with paint bombs and butyric acid. The same day actions occur in Amsterdam, Lubeck and Hamburg.*

April 29. *Shell garage in Naerum burnt down.*

May Day. *Squatters and anarchist's demo attacked by riot police. 19 arrests. A lot of bruised bodies; one demonstrator hospitalised. Later that evening four persons, naked apart from balaclavas, trash a bank. During the May Day demo four Kurds are beaten up by rascists while 60,000 socialists turn a blind eye.*

May 4. *Shell stations in North Jutland trashed and 2000 gallons released from the pumps.*

May 5. *Shell garage in Holbaek sabotaged, hoses cut, sugar in tanks, walls painted.*

May 13. *Colas road materials [100% Shell owned] attacked during the morning with butyric acid. The same day the Council announces it is stopping their contract with Colas.*

June 3. *New house squatted on Vesterbro; evicted same night during violent street fights; injuries to both police and squatters.*

June 14. *'BT' (gutter press) offers reward for the person who burnt down the Shell station in Naerum.*

June 15. *Four people arrested for sabotage on Shell station on May 4th.*

The CNT Connection Part 2

After spending two days in a police station and twenty nine days in Barcelona's 'Modelo' prison, Maria Felipo Romero, a CNT-AIT affiliate, has been unconditionally released and all charges against him have been dropped.

As we reported in *Black Flag* no. 171, Romero was arrested at his home four days after Fabrizio Bartet and Clara Placenti were detained. All were accused by police of being in contact with an 'armed gang' (allegedly the Italian Red Brigades).

The cops, who seemed to have forgotten that it's no longer a crime to belong to the CNT, have been left with considerable egg on their faces following Romero's acquital. On his release our comrade told friends that if he had a choice he would prefer to spend a month in the 'Modelo' rather than two days in the cop shop (where he was inhumanely treated).



ANARCHIST ORGANISATION

The Iberian Anarchist Federation, the FAI, has its own mythology, imposed upon it by those who never knew it. It has been eulogised by some, and defamed by others. As befitting an organisation that became engaged in revolutionary warfare it had its critics and its admirers and in recent years there have been exaggerations from both sides.

It was for this reason that Juan Gomez Casas decided to correct matters and provide a detailed insight into the founding of the FAI, its organisation, its role in the pre-Revolutionary struggle and its part in the war against the Fascists. Casas is eminently suitable for this 'expose'. During the anti-Fascist war he was a militant in the Libertarian Youth but was sentenced to 30 years in prison, of which he served 15. On release he put all his energy into helping to re-organise the CNT (the anarcho-syndicalist union) and later he was elected its National Secretary.

Casas' book on the FAI is entitled Anarchist Organisation *and has recently been published in the English language. The appearance of the English language versions coincides with a re-uniting of many of the anarchist groups in Spain around the FAI as well as a resurgence in anarchist organisation in Portugal, which this year celebrates one hundred years of anarchist organisation in that country.*



THE BEGINNINGS

Although Casas' book is as much a history of the FAI as a comment on its method of organisation, there would not be much point in this review to reiterate or summarise that history - the reader can discover that direct. Instead this review will elaborate on a couple of themes that is constant throughout the book - namely the FAI's relationship to the CNT, and the role of the FAI in defending the anarchist cause.

As soon as one begins to read the book Casas makes it obvious that the FAI cannot be seen except in close relationship with the CNT. The two organisations became inextricably linked. In fact Casas goes to some length to show how the two shared the same roots.

Both can be traced to the Bakuninist Alliance and the First International. Casas explains that *'...the Alliance programme was one and the same as the newborn Spanish section of the International, the FRE* (Spanish Regional Federation).' In those early days the *'Alliance had no other aim than to assume the defence and growth of the essential work of the first nuclei in Madrid and Barcelona: the FRE, or Spanish section of the IWMA* (later the IWA)'.

From 1881 onwards people working in both the Alliance and the Spanish section of the International were indistinguishable. The FRE delegates, for example, to the Hague congress of the International - Rafael Farga Pellicier, Alerini, Nicolas Alonso Marselau and Tomas Gonzales Morago - were all prominent Alliance members.

The CNT is the direct successor to the FRE and was founded in 1910. Up until the founding of the CNT the groups working within the FRE and the Alliance cooperated as one, organising often clandestinely because of the repression.

From the beginning the CNT faced constant attempts by minority political elements to oppose the majority method (anarcho-syndicalism). These political elements showed time and time again that they wanted no truck with direct action. Not long after its founding, for example, the CNT called a general strike and as a result was forced underground once more - but this had a positive effect of driving out the marxists.

These same political elements attempted to re-organise the CNT along the lines of industrial unionism, but at the 1919 Congress the CNT rejected this structure and opted instead for the 'sindicato unico' (a single, all industries, union with a strong community base). It was this base that characterised the CNT and anarcho-syndicalism from the other union organisations and enabled the CNT to stage insurrections at local and regional levels in support of local and regional strikes.

The insurrectional activity of the CNT was, in part, a direct response to the death squads (or pistoleros) sent out by the bosses and the state authorities to crush the resistance. The CNT found it difficult to operate openly and many of its members, together with support groups, formed defense groups. Some of these groups worked inside the CNT, others alongside it. There was little distinction between the Confederal organisation and the specific anarchist groups - in fact in 1922 it was the anarchist groups, by then formed into a loose federation, that called a general strike in defence of the CNT, resulting in the release of many CNT prisoners.

At the same time the marxists, worried by the insurrectional activity and the defence role adopted by the anarchist groups, began once more to openly criticise the anarchists. A prominent CNT member, Angel Pestana, began to argue for the CNT to adopt a strategy that would aim for what was possible, not for revolution. He and his supporters were nicknamed the 'possibilists' and Casas believes that it was partly as a reaction to the reformist and counter-revolutionary antics of Pestana and certain marxists within the CNT that prompted the FAI to organise in the way that it did.

Casas considered it necessary to point out, too, the strident opposition by the FAI and the anarchist groups associated around the specific organisation to a vanguardist tendency then being launched in France by Archinov, the Russian anarchist who later joined the Bolsheviks. Casas points out that the 'Platformists', as these vanguardists were known, had an anti-labour view of anarchism - they accuse anarchists, for example, as being marginalised (ie in a ghetto). To the Spanish movement this was ludicrous. Casas says that Archinov *'expressed a clear suspicion of the organised labour movement'.* Others at the time (eg, Santillan) went further and saw platformists as *'supporters of an organised political party, seperate from the labour movement. [and also opposed to] anarcho-syndicalism'.* Santillan also noted that the platformists made no distinction between the reformist unions and the CNT and were opposed to all participation in the labour movement.

Although platformism never got anywhere (apart from, in later years, influencing trotskyist dominated groups such as ORA), in Spain it became a matter of controversy, not least because it contradicted all that the Spanish movement stood for. Casas states unequivocally that the anarchist groups in Spain rejected platformism as anti-working class and of no relevance to the Spanish situation.

While stating the obvious, platformism was seen as unworkable, not least because it had no bearing on reality, nor was a social revolution achievable if a so-called revolutionary organisation was itself based on inequality. A revolutionary organisation, at whatever stage, ought to reflect the sort of social organisation that we aim for in a post-revolutionary society. On this basis the platformists immediately disqualified themselves from any serious consideration as social revolutionary anarchists.

The immediate predecessor of the FAI was the National Federation of Anarchist Groups, which shared the same offices in Barcelona as *Solidaridad Obrera*, the famous CNT paper. In 1924 the CNT was once more driven underground and *'Soli'* was closed down. Maurin, a marxist prominent in the CNT, used the situation to start a reformist paper, 'Workers Struggle', which was allowed to function by the dictatorship. Meanwhile Angel Pestana and Peiro continued to try and steer the CNT away from anarcho-syndicalism and into legitimisation. Maurin and others (eg, Solis) were also pushing for greater centralism and criticised the anarchist federation as 'petty bourgois' (later the infiltrators Maurin and Nin helped to found and head the POUM).

It was with this background of violent attacks on the CNT, the criminalisation of the Confederal organisation, and the attempt by political infiltrators within the CNT, that the anarchist groups decided to form the FAI.

On July 25th 1927 delegates met from Portugal, from the Federation of Anarchist groups, from the exile groups, and from Catalonia, and agreed that the Federation would form a close working relationship to the CNT and that no other links with other political groups or tendencies would be sought.

The iniative was timely. The state, under the Socialist minister of Labour banned strike action and made arbitration compulsory; also the Bolsheviks had seized control of the CNT's main papers and launched an attack on guerrilla activity. One such guerrilla group, working in defense of the CNT, was Los Solidaros, which included Garcia Oliver, Durruti and Francisco Ascaso. This particular group worked closely with the CNT. For the May Day rally in 1931 Los Solidaros was delegated by the CNT to help defend the march in Barcelona. When the police tried to break up the march *'Ascaso disarmed the police commander, while Durruti seized a red and black banner and shouted "Make way for the FAI!".'* The anarchist groups working alongside the FAI and within it were already preparing the way for insurrectional activity.

This close working relationship witnessed a period of general strikes and insurrections. And the 1932 uprising was as much attributed to the work of the FAI as it was to the CNT.

In one of the local insurrections the FAI and the CNT in Tarrasa occupied the Town Hall and raised the red and black flag and declared a free municipality. They called for support in the form of a general strike and within days there was strike support activity in almost every region of Spain.

This pattern of events was to repeat itself in all regions. The insurrections and strikes provoked mass arrests and many militants were murdered. The objective was to inspire a general uprising and to create revolutionary consciousness through direct action, not through argument.

The politicals didn't like this at all. A group calling themselves the Treinistas emerged, led by Pestana. They issued a statement condemning the FAI. This statement was published in full in the national press, who saw it as a means of splitting the CNT. At the regional plenum of the CNT in 1932 at Sabadell the Treinistas engineered such a split. Pestana was forced to resign and a member of the Los Solidaros group took his place as National Secretary.

The splitters finally showed their true colours and formed a minority organisation outside of the CNT which they called the Libertarian Syndicalist Federation. This organisation later tried to form an alliance with the Communist Party and Socialist Party unions. In time, too, Pestana transformed this breakaway organisation into the Syndicalist Party, and as a result many of the members who had joined the original Libertarian Syndicalist Federation re-joined the CNT in 1936 in the call to arms.

PREPARING FOR WAR

Between 1932 and 1934 the cycle of insurrections and general strikes continued and in 1933 the CNT even attempted to stage a general revolution. But the time had not yet come and many were arrested and killed. In the same year the FAI decided that it should begin to prepare for revolution and began a pre-revolutionary campaign to sabotage the economy through local guerrilla activity. Later the FAI and the CNT formed a joint Revolutionary Committee to develop a strategy.

By February 1936 the FAI at a national plenum decided to set up a network of Preparedness committees. The CNT jointly organised them. Their aim was to get arms, expropriate vehicles and broadcasting equipment, test weapons and explosives, prepare for the conversion of industries for the revolution and the uprising, etc. These committees were set up in every region and district in Spain.

Several days prior to the Fascist rebellion the CNT and the FAI had already mobilised. But arms - or lack of them - remained the big problem. *'Soli'* was the first to report the news of the coup, and was immediately censored by the Republican authorities. Within hours the CNT and the FAI announced they had formed a united front, and they began the task

continued on page 8

PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE

UNDER REVIEW

'Relanzamiento de la CNT 1975 - 79', by Juan Gomez Casas. Available CNT-AIT, Parque Vosa 12 bajo, Mostoles, Madrid.

Juan Gomez Casas begins his history of the present-day CNT with the death of Franco on 20th November 1975 when it was immediately re-launched, the initial move involving predominantly CNT veterans establishing the CNT on a regional basis, with meetings in Madrid (December 1975) and Barcelona (February 1976), attracting some 200 and 700 people respectively. From such meetings regional committees were established, the process being repeated in other regions, notably Valencia, Andalucia, Galicicia, Euskadi, Asturias and Aragon. Having established itself regionally, a national plenary meeting on the various regions was held in July 1976 and a provisional national committee agreed on.

By this time militants, mainly youngsters, were flocking into the organisation, many riding on a tidal wave of anti-Francoist feeling. While this undoubtedly boosted CNT membership—reaching 120,000 in September 1977—it also caused considerable internal problems, due to the vast lack of theoretical and practical experience among the new arrivals. To underline this fact, Casas roughly identifies no less than fourteen different tendencies within the CNT during this initial period, including:

1. The younger generation,many with little or no conception of anarcho-syndicalism, Often taking an openly anti-organisational line, they would accuse the CNT of being 'bureaucratic' because it held congresses, among other things. They mistook the CNT for a loose anarchist federation rather than an anarcho-syndicalist union. Within this tendency can be added the'spontaneists' who stressed the autonomy of the workers' movement over and above the necessity to attract workers into the organisation. Consequently they put off more people than they encouraged (a deliberate ploy). Many inevitably left—frustrated by the fact that revolution isn't always possible in the'here and now' and it invariably involves hard work.

2. Fashion-conscious anti-authoritarians, who came and went without leaving much of an impression. Although the vast majority had only a disruptive influence whilst inside the CNT, some stuck it out and turned out to be solid militants. The rest soon disappeared, 'settled down' and were never heard of again in this context.

3. Autonomists of sorts, forever lecturing others on the necessity of ultra-violent activity, but rarely practising what they preached. Often critical of the CNT which they would denounce as 'reformist'.

4. Veterans of the civil war (1936-1939) and the subsequent period of clandestinity, who were often bewildered by the younger generation who claimed to 'know it all'. The generation gap, often under-estimated, was a major problem within the CNT at this time, a problem often aggravated by the intransigence of some older comrades.

5. Reformists, keen to ditch the CNT's revolutionary character and replace it with a 'possibilist' line. In fact, an insignificant tendency initially.

6. Council communists, of the neo-Pannekoek variety. They took an anti-syndicalist line.

7.'Globalists', who accused the CNT of 'workerism', arguing for a CNT'open to all', specifically ecologist and anti-militarist. Some remained within the organisation until 1979 at which point they joined the split.

8. The 'renovados', in reality, are a tendency without a specific doctrine or organisation to ally itself with. They argued for a more 'moderate' and 'modern' CNT—while taking a violently anti-FAI line, even before the FAI was re-launched in 1978.

9. Hard-line Anarchists, based mainly in Barcelona who were particularly adept at spotting infiltrators.

10. Political Christians, predominantly from the radical catholic groups 'Hermandad Obrera de Accion Catolica' and 'Hermandades del Trabajo'. Some eventually shook off their Catholicism, some others ended up in the Marxist camp. Like the reformists, they were of relative insignifance in the early stages.

11. Marxists, Stalinists, Marxist-Leninists, Trotskyists (4th International) and 'libertarian Marxists'. One of the more destructive and problematic tendencies, based notably in Valencia. Within this tendency can be added the 'anarcho-communists' who though claiming to be anarchists were in fact vanguardists and consequently, Marxist entryists.

12. The CNT in exile. Veterans forced to emigrate following the defeat of the republic in 1939. Mainly based in France, where there were two major factions—the Secretariado Intercontinental and the Co-ordinadora de Afinidades Libertarias. Often accused of controlling the CNT, without evidence, both groups were eventually disbanded by the CNT in March 1979.

13. The FAI. An independent, specifically anarchist organisation, historically linked to the CNT. Like the CNT-in-exile, the FAI was and is often accused of manipulating the CNT, again without any evidence.

14. The anarcho-syndicalists. By far the largest tendency throughout the period under review, this 'block' gave the CNT stability and coherence at meetings and in the public eye.


CNT open-air meeting, Barcelona (July 1977).

Confrontation with government

By November 1976 the CNT was functioning smoothly with regular press circulars, informing the media of CNT activities, being sent out by the national committee (based in Madrid). It soon became apparent, however that the press had no interest in giving publicity to the CNT except when it was bad. When around fifty anarchists, including many CNTers, were arrested at a meeting in January 1977, at which a possible re-launch of the FAI was being discussed, the press had a field day accusing the CNT of being a terrorist organisation. Unsuccessful press attempts were also made to link the CNT with GRAPO (a Marxist Leninist armed group).

In contrast to the bad press, the CNT held a number of successful demonstrations beginning in Madrid (March 77) and ending in Barcelona (July 77). An impressive 30,000 people attended the Madrid demo, while no less than 150,000 turned out in Barcelona; a similar demo in Valencia attracting another 40,000, placing beyond all doubt the fact that the CNT was back and meant business. Coincidentally, a high level of strike activity, plus an imaginative campaign involving the occupation of buildings belonging to the CNT up to 1939, shook the government into acknowledging the potential threat to it posed by the CNT/Libertarian Movement.

The Backlash

The CNT was isolated through the signing of the Moncloa Pact in 1977—a 'social pact' between the major reformist unions and the government, not dissimilar to that betwen the TUC and the Labour Government. Another way of isolating the CNT was to link it to terrorist activities, regardless of the truth. In the New York Times, for example, there appeared a completely unsubstantiated report that the CNT was planning to kidnap Landelino Lavilla (Spain's Minister of Justice) in November of that year.

More serious was the 'La Scala' incident, in which a night club in Barcelona was petrol bombed in January 1978, killing four workers. Although 70 per cent of the Scala workforce were affiliated to the CNT, as were two of the victims, anarchists of the FAI and the FIJL, (libertarian youth) were blamed and many were arrested and imprisoned. By the time the real culprit (a police agent) was caught, the damage had been done. Martin Villa, Spain's Interior Minister, went so far as to say the CNT was the major threat to society 'with its origins in terrorism and violence'.

Within a a month of this, on February 6 1978, a bomb exploded at the CNT offices in Barcelona, while in Vallecas, Communist Party offices were broken into and vandalised. Although CNT slogans were daubed on the walls, it didn't take long for the police to identify the real culprits, the fascists. Agustin Rueda, an anarchist militant from Catalonia, was tortured to death by the staff in Carabanchel prison (Madrid) on 14th February that year. The subsequent assassination of the Director General of Prisons, although popularly attributed to anarchists, was in fact carried out by GRAPO; another bomb was found outside CNT offices in Madrid but failed to explode.

Meanwhile the CNT (in Madrid) had great difficulties electing a new national committee. As soon as names were put forward there were objections and other names put forward, rejected by yet others. After three such meetings—specifically to elect a new national committee—in early 1978, it was agreed to move the national committee to Barcelona, in the hope of avoiding further complications. In contrast, CNT membership peaked at 250,000. The backlash intensified.

Infiltration

It soon became clear that moving the national committee to Barcelona had little effect on the CNT's internal problems. Casas notes that attacks on the FAI and IWA, from within the organisation, had become particularly fashionable during this period and in hindsight can be seen as indirect attacks on the anarchist/anarcho-syndicalist nature of the CNT by reformist elements. The 'anarcho-communists' (see above) were particularly active at this time in their constant criticism of the CNT's organisational structure , and often throwing in personal attacks on individual CNT militants for good measure. Based mainly in Euskadi, these'anarcho-communists', soon anything but anarchist, took a 'platformist' line in tune with Marxism.

But whereas the 'anarcho-communists' were a minor worry, the trotskyists became a major one. Based mainly in Valencia they had a more damaging long-term effect, almost splitting the organisation in two in Valencia, preceding by about a year the eventual split in 1979.

Typical of the trotskyist infiltrators was a character called Juan Ferrer, who pushed the laughable theory that the CNT was controlled by 'four to five exiles'. He even once called for the expulsion of anarchists from the CNT, at which the Catalan FAI did a bit of investigative research and discovered he was a Fourth Internationalist! Shortly after this disclosure Juan Ferrer disappeared from the scene.

Even the national committee wasn't exempt from the attention of the entryists. Following its move to Barcelona it was received revealed that two of its members—Jose Maria Berro and Sebastian Puigcever of the'Liberation' group and'libertarian marxist' respectively. They too had to be replaced. As a result of these and other anomalies a special commission was set up to investigate the problem in March 1979, leading to further disclosures.

Several more entryist organisations were subsequently identified, including Workers Autonomy and the so-called Anarcho-Syndicalist Affinity Groups, comprising 'Liberation', the Libertarian Communist Movement', council comms and marxists. This latter group not only had friends on the national committee, but also had a majority on the Catalan regional committee and the editorial board of Solidaridad Obrera (paper of the Catalan CNT) between 1977 and 1979.

Their aim was to ditch the CNT's anarcho-syndicalist content and replace it with a reformist-marxist line. Trouble was clearly brewing in the run-up to the CNT's Fifth Congress, due to take place in December 1979. Remarks by the CNT's general secretary, Enrique Marcos posssibly constituted the straw that broke the camel's bck. On the eve of the congress he held a press conference and promised those present 'a renovated CNT', alleging manipulation of the organisation by exiles at the same time.

The Fifth Congress (8-16 December 1979)

Three hundred and eighty unions were directly represented at the CNT's Fifth Congress, while forty others were represented indirectly. The Congress started with Enrique Marcos being brought to task for his earlier remarks. Immediately the Congress divided into pro- and anti-Marcos factions, taking two full days of congress time to settle the matter and only six days to cover the remaining 18 points of the agenda. Casas points to the lack of experience of most delegates as an explanation for the problems (after all, the previous CNT congress was in 1936). Following his mixed reception Marcos spent the rest of the Congress holding private meetings outside the main hall, notably with delegates from Aragon, Cantabria and Canarias. It soon became clear what was planned.

On the question of aims principles and tactics a 'classical' anarcho-syndicalist line was adopted, though this caused some dissent among the 'globalists'. All agreements made at previous CNT congresses were ratified and it was agreed that any worker could join the union'as long as they respected the aims, principles and tactics of the CNT.' Affiliates belonging to a political party or religious sect were barred from holding positions of responsibility.

On labour and union strategy more disagreement arose, though agreement to back boycotts, sabotage, strikes and other direct action tactics were eventually agreed upon, as was a rejection of the government-sponsored 'works committees'—comprising management and union representatives, the latter elected at 'union elections'. In place of'works committees'—denounced as'permanent bureaucratic committees that impede workers direct action'—general assemblies of workers were favoured, ensuring maximum participation in the decision-making process at shop-floor level.

Soon after the discussion, a group representing 53 delegates, those who had been meeting outside the congress, read a statement alleging 'authoritarian practices' and demanding a suspension of the congress until April. When their ultimatum was ignored, unanimously, they left the congress and subsequently left the CNT. Jose Bondia was elected new general secretary of the CNT and the national committee was moved back to Madrid. The dissidents set up a national organisation, representing 10% of the real CNT.

Epilogue

The book ends with a brief epilogue of the period after the Fifth Congress until the CNT's sixth congress in January 1983. Casas notes that whereas the CNT always has had a bad press coverage, from inaccurate to openly hostile, the split (known variously as the 'renovados', 'CNT congreso de Valencia' and more recently the'CNT-U) has had encouragement from the media. The phoney CNT, significantly, still elicits support from naive or dubious sections around the anarchist movement, including, it seems, a few in this country. Hopefully, Juan Gomez Casas' book may clear up the confusion, but unfortunately is not in English. It is highly recommended for those interested in the recent CNT-AIT history but also to anyone who has thought about the problenms of launching an anarcho-syndicalist union.

We will continue, as part of an ongoing series, to publish articles on Anarchist organisation and history. All contributions and comments are welcome. Ignorance will only benefit our enemies.

MAGGIES CLASS WAR

The Tories' Inner City initiative is not about pumping more money into the urban wastelands, but about completely altering the face of those areas and constructing hi-tech environments which will only benefit businesses and destroy working class communities.

The latest schemes are being floated by the Inner City Task Forces, initially begun by Heseltine and inspired by Prince Charles, but also as an election ploy to deceive and get more votes.

A variety of business zones have been created, including regional Development Agencies, Enterprise Zones and other re-development schemes for the inner cities.

The Enterprise Zones have been going for some time and are numerous industrial wastelands where there is much poverty, covering areas throughout the country that have been allowed to fall to ruin. In the Zones unemployment is high, and so are business incentives (cheap labour). Because of the nature of the work on offer jobs are invariably short-lived. Unionisation is banned and deals are struck outlawing strike action. At the same time the labouring communities are subject to a sort of post-industrial clearance: houses are in short supply or are over-priced, businesses are transient, resulting in the biggest movement of workers since the industrial revolution.



The Enterprise Zones are ideal for companies that want to make a quick killing. They are little more than free-ports and an import of the Third World sweat-shop economy.

Enterprise Zones are often referred to as 'greenfield sites' because the perks provided by the government are a commercial incentive and because the labour force in a depressed environment are just right for exploitation. The firms that set up shop are generally hi-tech, requiring a docile and obedient workforce.

In the Enterprise Zones the work is scarce, rather than proliferate, and labour can be bought cheaply. Particularly sought are the young, the elderly, houseworkers and the non-unionised. They are all used to low wages. Many of the young, too, are on government training schemes and have no choice in the matter. Their wages are used to keep the wage norm down.

Because of the nature of the incentives on offer for businesses many firms are temporary and so job contracts are either non-existent or temporary too. This means no job security but also no agreement over holidays, health and safety, etc. In the smaller firms the unions are not allowed in; in the larger companies the unions are encouraged to sign single union, no-strike, agreements.

Further, many of the firms have international connections. Some of the manufacturing is done in other 'free-ports' in 'developing' parts of the world, and then the assembly is done in the British plant. Or it could be the other way around. Alternatively the work may be split between two or more plants in different Enterprize Zones in different parts of the country. It all depends on local labour costs. And if there is industrial unrest, then the work, or even the plant, gets shifted around.

At the same time many of the areas covered by the Enterprise Zones or Development Agencies or Task Forces are being transformed from communities for the labouring classes into communities for the business classes. The labouring communities are being broken up by industrial and up-market housing re-developments, partly to exploit a gap in the housing investment boom, and partly to ensure traditional class values are eroded.

Worried by the inner city riots, the 'North-South' divide, the divisions caused by the increase in poverty all round, the government wants to pre-empt further trouble by literally getting rid of the working class communities, by destroying the tradition of mutual aid in the communities, and create a new generation of transients.

These Enterprise Zones, Development Agencies and Task Forces now cover every inner city area or urban wasteland area in the country. They are not creating jobs, but changing the face of labour.

And there is no organised opposition to what is happening. The unions have capitulated and the Government has seized the offensive.

Under these conditions a movement to re-create traditional industrial and community solidarity is needed. And how we organise now will need to reflect how we see things run in the future. With a strong community base and an even stronger tradition of mutual aid.

Anarchist History

Use Of The CNT Archives

As we pointed out in our Liars and Liberals Supplement, foremost in the manoeuvre to historical revisionism and to hide knowledge of Anarchist working class activists is the so-called Institute of Social History at Amsterdam. It has long passed off as an 'impartial' collector of archives. It was started off by Max Nettlau's self-imposed and self-funded task of collecting every scrap of information he could about Bakunin, and his book on him being so long as to be commercially unpublishable (so that it became the source book for bourgeois professors doing an upmarket form of pisstaking, like E.H.Carr), he deposited his archives in the Amsterdam University. In an excess of self-esteem Emma Goldman also presented it with her own extensive correspondence and ephemera, and later, at the end of the Spanish war, the CNT deposited all its archives there too, and has never been able to get them back yet.

The Dutch government has woken up (or been alerted by the Spanish) to the fact that archives may confer credibility, and in its co-operation to wipe out the anarchist working class movement, has induced the Institute to act as 'paterfamilias' (as Rudolf de Jong, its administrator, puts it) between the real CNT and its imitation, a genuine breakaway originally but which came very soon under the influence of Catholic Action and wishes to alter the image of the CNT. To us the archives mean nothing—a textbook for students to quarrel over—but the significance is to rewrite history and confer the past of one movement on to its imitators—the way the modern Labour Party here has taken over the mantle of the old working class movement.

The newest impudence is contained in a letter *Black Flag*, and several other anarchists in Great Britain, received from the Fundacion Salvador Segui in Madrid. A slickly presented brochure, it bears the name of a well known anarcho-syndicalist union activist murdered in Barcelona by gunmen of the Catholic company unions—which preceded Catholic Action—(this is why Buenaventura Durruti shot the guilty Archbishop of Saragossa in return—but conventional 'history' never gives that side of it, it would appear it was just done out of anti-clerical fury!)

The Salvador Segui Foundation, addressing us as 'companeros' for all the world as if they were, asks for collaboration and exchange of publications much as the Dutch Institute did till they were 'rumbled' (though the re-writing of British anarchist history by the worthy Herr Doktor Becker, whom God preserve, still continues). It then clearly intends to make its grab, backed by legal 'pressure' on the all-too-willing Dutch 'custodians', to grab the archives and confer a revolutionary pedigree on the phoney CNT with a new Catholic Actionist programme, writing out the real CNT. In the SS Foundation's brochure, we read that Salvador Segui, 'was murdered for promoting the idea of emancipation as a generator of living society' (re-translate as 'by us his grave-robbers for being a revolutionary unionist') but 'he always believed that the principal revolutionary arm of the working class was culture and the elevation of the intellectual level'. Yes, he did believe as did all the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists in education. No, we are not 'anti-intellectual', but anyone can smell what they're getting at! Segui was above all things for action and not for domination by bourgeois 'superiors'.

We will continue to expose this type of intrigue, not just for the historical record, not for a 'trip down Memory Lane', but to preserve the identity of our movement, against the pretensions of theirs. Watch future issues for the unfolding HISTORY OF ANARCHISM. Research it may lack, integrity it will have.

FUNDACIÓN SALVADOR SEGUÍ

Sagunto, 28010-MADRID

POBLACION D.P.

TFNO.

Giro Postal o Talón / Transferencia a: Amable Gonzalez López (Tesorería) Fundación Salvador Segui Barclays Bank SAE O.P. Madrid C/C. N°. 1355902

Why It Matters

Another feedback from of our Liars and Liberals supplement (still available): 'I suggest you produce a history of the world anarchist movement. As far as I am aware, unless you bought a whole series of books, there is no single alternative at present to George Woodcock's book. If you are so sure that so much of what he says is false then I feel it would be a very important and worthwhile task to undertake. (Perhaps, rather than a book it could be run as a series to BF). Of course, I know it would be a demanding, time-consuming one too, but at present you usually only give us a relative glimpse of fore-knowledge of the movement's history (the supplement excepted).' AJ, Surrey.

We agree that a history of the Anarchist movement, by working-class and activist Anarchists, should have been published long since; an example is the long and arduous research by Jose Peirats into the Spanish movement which all the professors have lifted with the usual note of source for which no payment is made (occasionally a word of thanks in the preface of the book which is never sent to the author!—a standard literary practice), while he in his old age worked away at nights sewing on buttons to finance his research. It must be recognised that we do not fight Woodcockery on equal terms. The Government-funded academics have paid full time, not occasional hours of leisure, in which to work; they have large resources and research facilities; they spend their life receiving salary cheques from the State with sabbatical year holidays; the huge commercial and academic publishers are open to them for which they get handsomely rewarded, only because of their degrees and 'insider trading'; for all of which a price is paid, their integrity they must in return help defeat the activist working classs movement either by eliminating it from history or by rewriting its programme and passing off a counterfeit. This goes, with very rare and individual exceptions, whether they profess Socialism, Anarchism or anything else. They in return recognise each other's existence to help boost their own ego. (Note their careful name-dropping; note how they all copy each other's mistakes, as if to add the magic words e.g. 'Borkenau op cit' made it authentic).

Bear in mind the disabilities under which we labour, friends. Meanwhile consider the attempted hi-jacking of the anarchist movement by certain sources, which begins with Woodcockery and the need to distort history. (Working class struggle doesn't exist: all social advance is due to a bourgeois writer or respectable artisan nearest to the struggle!) As we have said, there are more people now interested in the history of anarchism than in anarchism itself; perhaps because of a desire to salute what they regard as a failed attempt, dinosaur worship, or to abolish activism into the past (as science fiction addicts abolish it to the future!)

BUILD YOUR OWN PRISON

The Tories' prison expansion scheme is to be expanded even further. The original expansion scheme, referred to in previous issues of *Black Flag*, included the building of an extra 20 new prisons. Now that number has been increased to 30.

The Government has also announced that as the programme will probably take around 10 years to complete, Army camps, to take the excess prison population, are already ready and waiting.

A consortium of building contractors has been set up to undertake the prison programme as well as to undertake feasibility studies into setting up privately run prisons. The Consortium believes it can achieve the programme well within the 10 year mark and to have Britain's first purpose built private prison fully operating within 3 years.

The Consortium includes Tarmac, McAlpine, Trafalgar House, Balfour Beatty, Lang, Mowlem, Higgs & Hill, Wimpey, Costain, and AMEC.

Many of these companies are major contributors to Tory Party funds as well as contributors to the funds of organisations that monitor trade union and left-wing activities, such as the Economic League and Aims of Industry. These companies also have reputations for particularly bad industrial relations, hiring and firing at will, giving back-handers to union officials, etc. 'Their' prisons will inevitably include those who will flout the trade union laws or who oppose the sort of nightmare environment these companies are building. In that sense these prisons will become, for some, a sort of company prison: if you go against the system, you will be imprisoned by it.

And the labourers who build them will see their mates, their families, their friends and relatives put inside them. Or it may even be themselves.

While people sleep out in the street because there are not enough houses, casual employed labourers, working on low pay and with no job security, are building prisons instead. When prisons take on a higher priority than homes then we known indeed that we have entered the Prison Economy.

JERUSALEM HONOURS ROMMEL!

Manfred Rommel, mayor of Stuttgart, and son of General Rommel, regarded it as a 'significant honour' that he was made an honorary Guardian of Jerusalem—though protesters at the ceremony pointed out that if Rommel had succeeded they would have been exterminated. Not so, declared mayor Teddy Kollek, some North African Jews said they had escaped extermination by the Nazis because of Rommel's putting military action ahead of carrying out the extermination of the Jews (which if applied nationally could have won the war). It is somewhat twisted logic, motivated by State power policies rather than recall of the Holocaust, to say that certain German generals or capitalists must be righteous because of what they did not do; never have the Jewish authorities in Israel or elsewhere so much as mentioned the role of the Spanish Anarchist guerrillas in opening up the Pyrenees to Jewish escapees and others.

BRITAINS NERVE GAS EXPERTS



While it is openly admitted that NATO intends to deploy sea-launched and air-launched Cruise missiles in Britain, in addition to the more commonly known ground-launched variety, what is not so readily admitted is the plan to deploy the new US nerve gas weapons in Europe, or indeed that scientists in Britain are currently engaged in the development of new generation chemical weapons.

The US nerve gas weapon under production is known as the Bigeye bomb and when deployed will be stored at Lakenheath and Upper Heyford. These binary weapons are the latest development in the technology first begun by the Nazis, with firms like IG Farben, and later expropriated by the Allies after the War (Hitler had 250,000 tonnes of nerve gas but never used it). At that time Britain and the US were concentrating on producing biological weapons. Porton Down was the main biological weapons research establishment in Britain and in 1944 anthrax was preferred as the main agent, and as an experiment the entire island of Gruinard, off the north-west coast of Scotland, was infected with the virus.

Similar experiments were being carried out with anthrax, cholera and other viruses by the Japanese on prisoners of war and by infecting Chinese cities.

In Britain, after the War, Porton Down began work on a nerve gas known as V-agents. Initially developed by ICI these V-agents were only one of many biological warfare agents that were worked on. Defoliants and CS gas were others. These experiments formed an important contribution to the programme that led to defoliants being used in Vietnam by the US. It is now believed that both the USA and the USSR each hold stock-piles of around 42,000 tonnes, minimum, of chemical weapons.

Claims that the Soviet Union has embarked on a massive chemical weapons expansion programme has resulted in much lobbying in the USA for a similar expansion programme to be approved over there. This is superfluous given that the USA already holds 20,000 tonnes of nerve gas - enough to kill the world's population a thousand times over.

The US lobby wants NATO member states to stockpile US generated nerve gas in readiness. In Britain the Porton Down Chemical Defence Establishment has placed several hundred contracts with various universities engaged in research that contributes directly or indirectly to the development of chemical and biological warfare. A short-list of some of these researchers has been drawn up by *New Scientist*, which we reproduce here.

Prof. D Lloyd, Dept of Microbiology, University College, Cardiff.
Dr RK Berkeley & LA Shute, Dept of Microbiology, University of Bristol.
Dr J Hadgraft, University College of Wales Institute of Science & Technology.
Prof. R Marks, University of Wales College of Technology.
Prof. GN Powell & Dr CG Curtis, Dept of Biochemistry, University College, Cardiff.
Dr C Sweet & Prof PB Bradley, Dept of Pharmacology, University of Birmingham.
Prof JW Bridges, Dr DJ Benford, D Upshall & Dr I Kitchen, Dept of Biochemistry, University of Surrey.
Dr P Casey, Prof RT Parfitt & Dr PH Redfern, Dept of Pharmacy & Pharmocology, University of Bath.
Prof CB Ferry, Dr S Kelly & Dr JW Smith, Dept of Pharmecutical Science, Aston University.
Dr S Wonnacutt and Dr G Lunt, Dept of Biochemistry, University of Bath.
Dr A Campbell & Ms R Quinn, Dept of Biochemistry, Glasgow University.
Dr GH Dodd, Dept of Chemistry, University of Warwick.
Prof K Sing, & Dr P Carrott, Dept of Chemistry, Brunel University.
Dr G Jayson, Dr M Wilkinson & JA Sangster, Dept of Chemistry & Biochemistry, Liverpool Polytechnic.
Prof. RB Cundall & Dr AK Davies, Dept of Biochemistry, Salford University.
Prof FS Stone, Dept of Chemistry, Bath University,
RW Foster, & KM Wilson, Dept of Pharmocolgy, University of Manchester.

By doing what they are doing these people are little more than mass murderers, acting with state funding and on behalf of the government.

Answers to Quiz

1. In Portugal (no coincidence, the 'Sandeman's Port' lookalike!) in the early party of the century, but the origin of the caricature was the Portuguese Republicans who were fixated on bombs, dressed in traditional fashion and who finally managed to dispose of the the King of Portugal; when the Republic became respectable the image was transferred to the Anarchists and got stuck there, after a temporary association with 'Bolshies'.

2. For the making of the film 'Kolberg' (defended by the Prussian general Gneisenau against Napoleon—when Britain, Russia and Prussia were allied—but the theme is civilian sacrifice), for which Goebbels was the scriptwriter.

3. Two British regiments, stationed there in 1760, saw little prospect of being relieved, and no less than 730 decided to kill their officers and bargain with the Spanish for a secure retreat in'return for which they would sell the garrison. The Spanish bartered on the price, which led to a quarrel among the soldiers and the plot was revealed. A private, Bond, was executed as 'ringleader'—but he and his associates were, at least, as much 'the British' as the Germans George II and their commander the Prince of Hesse!

4. The knife shown is that used by Sir William Walworth who treacherously attacked Wat Tyler, the peasant rising leader, during parley, and proclaimed the young King Richard their new 'leader'.

5. The Princess Olga Repnin, who became the Duchess of Leuchtenberg. She didn't renounce her rank, though, and continued living with the duke!

SCAB EDUCATION

Prior to the general election the Labour Party unsuccessfully tried to stop advertisements appearing in the tabloid press depicting a miner and a parent expressing fear about left-wing policies. The advertisers were named as the Committee for a Free Britain (CFB) and recently they were shown to be nothing less than a front for the 'radical right' of the Tory Party.

CFB's main spokesperson is none other than David Hart of Miners Strike fame. Readers will remember that Hart was the main go-between in helping to set up the National Working Miners Committee with secret funding. After the strike *Black Flag* revealed that Hart was a member of the Tory libertarian right, although this was vehemently denied by one of his colleagues (Chris Tame).

The scab connection is continued via Colin Clarke, who is also a founder member of CFB. Clarke was Hart's prodigy in the scab miners' movement and became the president of the National Working Miners Committee, the predecessor to the scab Union of Democratic Minerworkers. Clarke got his rewards in the end and went to work for British Coal (formerly the National Coal Board) at the headquarters as the head of the British Coal Enterprise scheme, which was set up to assist miners made redundant by the cutbacks. A piece of evil irony indeed: one of the people responsible for the strikes' collapse ends up being responsible, on behalf on management, for finding jobs for those who lost their jobs.

Another founder of CFB is Betty Sheridan. She has no particular claim to fame other than being a local organiser of the Haringey Parents' Rights Group which campaigned against the 'loony left' policies of Haringey's Education Committee. What is interesting about her Parents Rights group is that it was funded by the Unification Church (Moonies).

More prominent founders of CFB include Lord Harris, who is the director of the Institute for Economic Affairs, and Baroness Cox, the former Tory whip in the House of Lords and a former director of Mrs Thatcher's Policy Unit. Like David Hart, Baroness Cox is also a member of the Freedom Association.

Further support for the CFB comes from Lord Chalfont, the former Labour minister, and several key far-right educationalists, namely Ray Honeyford, Roger Scruton and Alan Walters. Chalfont, in his semi-retirement from mainstream politics, has resorted to supporting other front organisations too. Currently he is heading an organisation (the Institute for the Study of Terrorism) with money supplied by Brian Crozier, who in turn obtained it from the US-based Heritage Foundation.

So what angle is the CFB pushing (as if we have not had enough of all the other think tanks that are around!)? Well, to save us fishing around in the dark they've been kind enough to issue a manifesto, called 'Setting The Individual Free'. In it they call for the complete abolition of the National Health Service and of state education. Instead they want all schools to be privatised and all Health care to be paid for through private insurance.

In effect they are but one step ahead of Tory Party policy and, given the proven influence these people have had in recent times on official government policy, it remains to be seen just how long it will be before the government adopts the CFB manifesto in its entirety.

Of course the Tories would argue that we already pay for Health care and Education through National Insurance and through the Rates (soon to be replaced by the Poll Tax). But under the present system the poor are subsidised to some degree by the wealthy, while under a totally privatised system there would be no subsidising. Furthermore people would get what they could afford. Pauper schools for the poor and third rate health care and hospitals for third rate citizens. Many people will refrain from Health care altogether because they can't afford it.

The Tories argue that you should only get what you pay for and that nothing is ours by 'right'. The Labour Party argues that under nationalisation everything is owned by the state and so we all own it. Under Labour our 'rights' are given to us by a benevolent state. Under the Tories we are expected to buy these rights back. Both systems are based on a lie - namely that we have no rights in the first place.

Instead we will have to re-expropriate our rights by force. We need a Health Service run by free municipalities and Union locals, and Education for t he social good not for profit. The social revolution begins with what we do now.

NB. Interestingly the solicitors who placed the CFB's advertisements are White McDevitt, who share offices with Aims of Industry, which monitors union militants.

CIA IN FIJI COUP

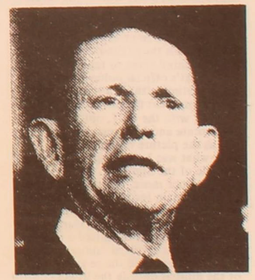
There are indications that the overthrow of the government of Dr Timoci Bavadra in Fiji was engineered by the US.

Just before the coup General Vernon Walters, a former deputy director of the CIA, paid a vist to Fiji where he 'had an interesting game of golf' with Colonel Rambuka, the leader of the coup (who also happens to be related, by marriage, to the Governor-General, Ratu Ganilau.

Walters has been linked to countless coup attempts, wars and massacres around the world. In particular the coup in Iran in 1953, the CIA destabilisation campaign in Italy during the '60's, the bloody coup in Brazil in 1964, the Watergate cover-up, the murder of Allende and the installation of Pinochet, close involvement in Guatamala during the 1981 repression, and more recently CIA operations in Angola during the period 1975/6.

When on a visit to Washington, Dr. Bavadra called for a Congress investigation into allegations that the CIA had been involved in the coup, he added that General (retired) John K Singlaub, head of the US section of the World Anti-Communist League and fundraiser for the Contras, was in Fiji before during and after the coup (one wonders if he plays golf too?).

Suffice to say that the overthrown Fijian government intended to follow the example of New Zealand and ban US warships from visiting if they had nuclear weapons. No doubt Colonel Rambuka was handsomely paid for



General (retired) John K Singlaub

the deal.

Retrospectively it is obvious that the Governor-General was also in on things (in the aftermath he played an important role in keeping Rambuka in power). The deal was as much against New Zealand as it was against the government of Bavadra: in this sense it is ironic that the Head of State of New Zealand (ie, the Queen, who would have given tacit approval to the conspiracy that involved her sole representative in Fiji) has acted, with the USA, against New Zealand interests to retain nuclear supremacy in the South Pacific.